

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 AF-08 OPIC-03 TRSE-00

/065 W

----- 077024

O R 301539Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6581

INFO AMCONSUL BARCELONA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 5861

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON CURRENT POLITICAL EVENTS BY BARCELONA CIVIL
GOVERNOR SANCHEZ TERAN

1. BARCELONA CIVIL GOVERNOR SALVADOR SANCHEZ TERAN HERNANDEZ
HAD THE FOLLOWING TO SAY ON THE CURRENT POLITICAL SCENE AND
POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN A TOUR DE HORIZON WITH THE
DCM JULY 29. IN INTERPRETING HIS COMMENTS, IT SHOULD BE
REMEMBERED THAT HE WAS APPOINTED AS GOVERNOR OF BARCELONA BY
FRAGA AND REMAINS CLOSE TO FRAGA POLITICALLY, BUT THAT HE AT
THE SAME TIME IS, AT AGE 42, OF THE GENERATION OF
THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND HAS BEEN PERSONALLY CLOSE TO
MINISTERS MARTIN VILLA, OREJA AND LAVILLA SINCE STUDENT
DAYS. IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO THE CONVERSATION REPORTED IN
THIS TELEGRAM, HE HAD HAD AN HOUR WITH MINISTER OF GOVERNMENT
MARTIN VILLA AND A LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH FORMER FOREIGN
MINISTER AREILZA.

2. REASONS FOR AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE CHANGE OF GOVERN-
MENT
FROM HIS PERSPECTIVE, SANCHEZ TERAN BELIEVES THAT ARIAS
WAS DUMPED BECAUSE OF CONCERN THAT FRAGA WAS BECOMING TOO
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STRONG, TO THE POINT THAT HE MIGHT REACH A POSITION OF "GOV-

ERNING FOR TEN YEARS." WHETHER THIS WAS TRUE OR NOT, SANCHEZ TERAN PERSONALLY REGRETTED THAT THE CHANGE WAS MADE WHEN IT WAS BECAUSE HE FELT THAT THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT HAD ALL BUT WON ITS BATTLE FOR A SUCCESSFUL REFORM PROGRAM. HE SAID THAT, FOR INSTANCE, HE HAD ALREADY ACHIEVED A WRITTEN AGREEMENT WITH THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT OPPOSITION GROUPS IN BARCELONA TO PARTICIPATE POSITIVELY IN THE REFERENDUM AND SUBSEQUENT ELECTORAL PROCESS DESPITE THE EXCLUSION OF THE COMMUNISTS. SUCH AN AGREEMENT HAD NOT BEEN ACHIEVED IN MADRID, BUT HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NATIONAL PARTICIPATION OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION. SANCHEZ TERAN DOES NOT THINK THAT THE KING REALLY EXPECTED FRAGA AND AREILZA TO LEAVE WHEN HE CHANGED ARIAS FOR SUAREZ. HOWEVER, IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT FRAGA, AT LEAST, COULD NOT CONTINUE. IN SANCHEZ TERAN'S VIEW, THE KING HAS COMMITTED HIS FUTURE TO THE SUCCESS OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. IT IS THUS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WHATEVER THE PROSPECTS MAY HAVE BEEN FOR THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT SUCCEED. ALTHOUGH HE IS IDENTIFIED AS A FRAGA MAN, HE IS PREPARED TO CONTINUE IN HIS PRESENT POSITION IN BARCELONA, WHERE HE FEELS THAT HE HAS BEEN QUITE EFFECTIVE, AND HE HAS BEEN GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND AT LEAST AT THIS TIME, THAT HE WILL BE EXPECTED TO STAY ON.

3. THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

MARTIN VILLA HAS TOLD SANCHEZ TERAN THE AMNESTY WILL BE A BROAD ONE THAT SHOULD SATISFY THE OPPOSITION EVEN THOUGH THERE DOUBTLESS WILL BE PRO FORMA OBJECTIONS. THE MILITARY INITIALLY OBJECTED TO ASPECTS OF IT BUT HAVE NOW, HE UNDERSTANDS, ACCEPTED ALL ASPECTS OF IT INCLUDING THE RELEASE OF UMD MEMBERS FROM JAIL (ALTHOUGH NOT THEIR RETURNING TO MILITARY SERVICE). THERE WILL BE NO OVERALL ECONOMIC PACKAGE, BUT THERE WILL BE SPECIFIC STEPS TO EXPAND CREDIT TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR, TO SUBSIDIZE CERTAIN KEY ITEMS IN ORDER TO KEEP PRICES DOWN, AND TO EXPAND EMPLOYMENT-CREATING PUBLIC SECTOR ACTIVITIES. AFTER THESE ACTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE AMNESTY AND ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE THE FIRST COUPLE OF WEEKS OF AUGUST TO CONSIDER ITS POSITION ON THE REFERENDUM. AT THE MOMENT IT IS LEANING TOWARD A PROSPECTIVE REFERENDUM OR "CONSULTATION" FOLLOWED BY CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM LEGISLATION BY THE CORTES. WHETHER IT IN THE

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END FOLLOWS THIS COURSE OR INSTEAD GOES TO THE CORTES FOR APPROVAL OF A GENERAL CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM PACKAGE LATER TO BE ENDORSED BY REFERENDUM, SANCHEZ TERAN IS CONVINCED THAT THE CORTES WILL BE MANAGEABLE. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE MORE LIBERAL MINISTERS IN THE GOVERNMENT WANT TO DEAL WITH THE KEY ISSUES OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE UPPER HOUSE OF THE LEGISLATURE, THE RELATIVE POWERS OF THE UPPER AND LOWER HOUSES AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE EXECUTIVE TO THE LEGISLA-

TURE. HOW THEY WOULD DEAL WITH THESE ISSUES AND WHETHER
THEY WILL BE SUCCESSFUL REMAIN AS QUESTIONS.

4. THE POLITICAL SHAPE OF THE FUTURE

SANCHEZ TERAN STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT THERE SHOULD BE
TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE CENTER. HE ASSUMES THAT
AT THE BEGINNING THERE WILL BE A TRADITIONALIST PARTY OF
THE RIGHT BUT THAT THIS WILL WITHER AWAY OVER TIME, AND ALSO
AT THE BEGINNING THERE WILL BE A MARXIST SOCIALIST PARTY
OF THE LEFT OF SOME IMPORTANCE. HE WOULD HOPE THAT
OVER TIME THE SOCIALIST PARTY WOULD EVOLVE INTO A SOCIAL
DEMOCRATIC PARTY BUT, IN HIS VIEW, INITIALLY IT WILL TEND
TO BE MORE RADICAL. IN HIS SCHEME, THE TWO PARTIES OF THE
CENTER WOULD BE A RIGHT-CENTER CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND
A LEFT-CENTER SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. HE CONSIDERS MINISTER
OF JUSTICE LANDELINO LAVILLA TO BE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS'
OUTSTANDING INTELLECT BUT SAYS HE LACKS CHARISMA. SILVA,
OSORIO, RUIZ GIMENEZ AND ALVAREZ MIRANDA ALL HAVE WEAKNESSES
THAT MAKE IT UNLIKELY THAT ANY ONE OF THEM WILL BE ABLE TO
UNITE A STRONG CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, IN HIS MIND.

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PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 AF-08 OPIC-03 TRSE-00

/065 W

----- 077211

O R 301539Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6582

INFO AMCONSUL BARCELONA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 5861

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON CURRENT POLITICAL EVENTS BY BARCELONA CIVIL

GOVERNOR SANCHEZ TERAN

THEREFORE, HE DOES NOT SEE AT THIS TIME WHO WILL EVENTUALLY BE THE PRINCIPAL LEADER OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. FRAGA IS THE NATURAL LEADER OF THE OTHER PARTY OF THE CENTER. HOWEVER, HIS STYLE IS CENTER-RIGHT EVEN THOUGH HIS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL THINKING, ACCORDING TO SANCHEZ TERAN, IS CENTER-LEFT. THUS, THE IMMEDIATE JOB OF PEOPLE LIKE HIMSELF, AREILZA AND PIO CABANILLAS IS TO CONVINCE FRAGA TO ADOPT A DIFFERENT AND MORE FLEXIBLE, LESS AUTOCRATIC LEADERSHIP STYLE. THIS THEY WILL ATTEMPT TO DO BEFORE POLITICKING RESUMES IN SERIOUS IN SEPTEMBER. HE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED THAT AREILZA WOULD BE SEEING FRAGA IN MID-AUGUST WITH THIS IN MIND.

5. THE US POSITION

SANCHEZ TERAN ASKED THREE QUESTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE US POSITION. THE FIRST WAS, WHAT STAND THE US WAS TAKING WITH REGARD TO THE COMMUNISTS. THE DCM SAID THAT THE US CONSIDERED THE DECISION ON LEGALIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO BE ONE FOR SPAIN TO MAKE FOR ITSELF, BUT AT THE SAME TIME THE CONFIDENTIAL

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US DID NOT HAVE FAITH IN THE DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS OR PROSPECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO DEMOCRACY OF THE COMMUNISTS. SANCHEZ TERAN APPLAUDED THIS POSITION BUT SAID THAT IT DIFFERED FROM WHAT POLITICAL CIRCLES THOUGHT THE US POSITION WAS. FOR INSTANCE, HE SAID VICE PRESIDENT GENERAL DE SANTIAGO HAD SENT A MESSAGE TO FRAGA THROUGH PRIME MINISTER ARIAS ASKING HIM TO RETRACT HIS REPORTED STATEMENT TO NEW YORK TIMES' SULZBERGER CONCERNING LEGALIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, AND IN SO DOING DE SANTIAGO HAD CITED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, US OPPOSITION TO LEGALIZATION. THE DCM SAID THAT US REPRESENTATIVES IN MADRID HAD BEEN CONSISTENT IN STATING THE US POSITION TO SPANISH POLITICAL INTERLOCUTORS, AND HE POINTED OUT THAT DE SANTIAGO'S POSITION ON THE LEGALIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY DOUBTLESS WOULD HAVE BEEN THE SAME WHATEVER STAND THE UNITED STATES TOOK. SANCHEZ TERAN'S SECOND QUESTION WAS WHETHER IT WAS TRUE THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS PUTTING ALL ITS EGGS IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC BASKET. THE DCM SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT TRUE. IN FACT, THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT TAKING ANY STAND ON WHAT THE EVENTUAL POLITICAL LINEUP SHOULD BE IN SPAIN. IT DID SEEM QUITE LOGICAL THAT THERE EVENTUALLY SHOULD BE A STRONG CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN SPAIN, BUT THERE WAS A PERSUASIVE ARGUMENT FOR TWO STRONG PARTIES OF THE CENTER LEST SPAIN EVENTUALLY RUN INTO THE SAME PROBLEM THAT ITALY HAS NOW. SANCHEZ TERAN OBVIOUSLY WAS PLEASED WITH THIS ANSWER ALSO. SANCHEZ TERAN'S THIRD QUESTION WAS WHETHER THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OR UNITED STATES LABOR UNIONS COULD FIND MEANS TO SUPPORT THE UGT, CNT AND ALSO OFFICIAL SYNDICAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AS A COUNTERPOISE

TO THE WORKERS' COMMISSION WHICH HE SAID WERE DOMINANT AT THIS TIME. THE DCM SAID THAT HE DOUBTED THAT IT WOULD BE WISE FOR THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO BECOME INVOLVED BEYOND THE INTERNATIONAL VISITORS PROGRAM. WE WERE SENDING LABOR LEADERS TO THE US UNDER IVP, AND WOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO CANDIDATES. US LABOR UNIONS HAD STAYED AWAY FROM SPAIN UNTIL VERY RECENTLY. WHETHER THEY MIGHT BECOME MORE INVOLVED IN FUTURE WAS ANOTHER QUESTION.

6. COMMENT: SANCHEZ TERAN'S VIEWS ON THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT ARE YET ANOTHER PERSONALIZED VERSION. THE EMBASSY'S OBSERVATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT ARE IN SEPTTEL. HIS COMMENTS ON THE GOVERNMENT'S PLANS RING TRUE. HE IS RIGHT THAT NO CONFIDENTIAL

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CLEAR, UNIFYING LEADER OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HAS YET EMERGED. WITH REGARD TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AREILZA AND FRAGA, IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT THEY WERE TOGETHER IN THE FEDISA POLITICAL STUDY GROUP WHICH FRAGA LED IN THE LAST DAYS OF FRANCO AND REMAINED CLOSE, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD LEFT THE GOVERNMENT, AREILZA'S POLITICAL STOCK WAS HIGH, BUT IT WAS FRAGA WHO HAD THE INCIPIENT POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN GODSA AND REFORMA DEMOCRATICA. THE EFFORT TO INDUCE FRAGA TO GREATER LEADERSHIP "FLEXIBILITY" COULD BE READ AS AN EFFORT TO GET HIM TO MOVE LEFT OF CENTER WHERE AREILZA AND SANCHEZ TERAN ARE IN TODAY'S SPANISH TERMS. STABLER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MADRID05861
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760295-0275
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t1976075/aaaaadzf.tel
Line Count: 254
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 MAY 2004 by MartinML>; APPROVED <07 SEP 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: COMMENTS ON CURRENT POLITICAL EVENTS BY BARCELONA CIVIL GOVERNOR SANCHEZ TERAN
TAGS: PINT, SP, US, (SANCHEZ TERAN HERNANDEZ, SALVADOR)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006